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DRAFTED BY: AF/C:KAISTON:KCA
 APPROVED BY: DEPUTY SECRETARY
 G:TWIRTH
 D:JWITHERS
 S/S-O:RSROBINSON

AF:PBUSHNELL
 S/S:DEGRAZE

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 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE
 INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 278118

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, OVIP, RW, US
 SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU AND DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT
 DISCUSS ASSISTANCE AND BENCHMARKS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY. IN AN OCTOBER 5 MEETING WITH THE DEPUTY SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON, RWANDAN PRESIDENT PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (GOR) LACKS BASIC RESOURCES BUT HAS THE NECESSARY GOOD WILL TO UPHOLD ITS COMMITMENTS ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. HE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO USG BENCHMARKS, INCLUDING BROADENING OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S BASE, RESPONDING CONSTRUCTIVELY TO REPORTS OF REPRISALS BY RPF FORCES (THE RPA), NAMING OF A POINT PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PURSUING INTEGRATION OF THE FORMER RWANDAN ARMY (EX-FAR). HE COMPLAINED, HOWEVER, THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SEEMS AT TIMES TO WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO "ACCOMMODATE KILLERS." THE DEPUTY SECRETARY STRESSED THE NEED TO TRANSLATE THE GOR'S AGREEMENT "IN PRINCIPLE" INTO CONCRETE ACTION. HE ADDED

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THAT THE U.S. WANTED TO SEE THE GOR INITIATE MEANINGFUL CONTACTS WITH HUTUS OUTSIDE RWANDA AND THAT THE GOR MUST FOCUS AS MUCH ON RECONCILIATION AS ON REPATRIATION. UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH COMMENDED THE GOR'S PROACTIVE RESPONSE TO THE UNHCR'S REPORTS OF REPRISALS, AND AF DAS BUSHNELL STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE GOR TO SAY THE RIGHT THINGS AND SHOW COURAGE AND TOLERANCE. END SUMMARY

3. BIZIMUNGU WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER NDAGIJIMANA, JUSTICE MINISTER NKUBITO, THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET EMMANUEL GASANA, AND PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR CHARLES MURIGANDE. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WAS JOINED BY UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH AND AF DAS BUSHNELL. SPECIAL ASSISTANT JOHN WITHERS AND RWANDA DESKOFF KEVIN AISTON ALSO ATTENDED. (SEPTELS WILL FOLLOW ON BIZIMUNGU'S CONFIDENTIAL

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OTHER WASHINGTON MEETINGS.)

BIZIMUNGU AGREES IN PRINCIPLE TO U.S. BENCHMARKS

4. BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT IN HIS MEETING WITH NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR LAKE, THE GOR WAS OFFERED ASSISTANCE WITH WORLD BANK ARREARS IF THE GOVERNMENT SATISFIED CERTAIN "CONDITIONS", INCLUDING BROADENING ITS BASE, RESPONDING TO THE UNHCR'S ALLEGATIONS OF RPA REPRISALS, NAMING A POINT PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PURSUING INTEGRATION OF EX-FAR ELEMENTS INTO THE RPA. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT AGREED "IN PRINCIPLE" TO THESE POINTS AND DECLARED THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT HAD MET THE "CONDITIONS." IT HAS ACCOMMODATED ALL PARTIES EXCEPT THE MRND (HABYARIMANA'S PARTY), WHICH, ACCORDING TO BIZIMUNGU, HAD ORGANIZED THE GENOCIDE. THE GOR WAS ATTEMPTING TO BRING IN INDIVIDUAL MRND MEMBERS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH THE MASSACRES. HE ADDED THAT THE GOR IS COMMITTED TO INTEGRATING ELEMENTS OF THE EX-FAR INTO THE NEW RWANDAN ARMY; HOWEVER, THE EX-FAR SOLDIERS HAVE NOT BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT THE GOR'S OFFER. AS FOR OUR SUGGESTION OF NAMING A POINT PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BIZIMUNGU SAID THE GOR WAS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO PUT THE COMMISSION IN PLACE DUE TO LACK OF RESOURCES. FINALLY, BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT THE GOR, WORKING WITH UNAMIR, HAD QUICKLY ESTABLISHED A COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE UNHCR REPORTS OR RPA REPRISALS. HE SAID THE INVESTIGATION INDICATED THAT THE ALLEGATIONS WERE UNFOUNDED.

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5. SUMMING UP, BIZIMUNGU SAID RWANDA NEEDS FINANCIAL AID TO UPHOLD THE COMMITMENTS THAT THE U.S. AND OTHERS WERE PRESSING. RATHER THAN HOLDING OFF ON AID BECAUSE OF THESE CONCERNS, HE BELIEVED DONORS SHOULD PROVIDE FUNDS SO THAT

THE GOR CAN MEET ITS COMMITMENTS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOR HAS THE NECESSARY GOOD WILL AND THAT, RATHER THAN PUTTING THE GOR UNDER CLOSE OBSERVATION, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD RECOGNIZE THIS AND HELP RWANDA ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS.

DEPUTY SECRETARY CALLS FOR CONCRETE ACTIONS

6. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE POINTS CONVEYED TO THE GOR WERE NOT "CONDITIONS"; RATHER, THEY WERE "BENCHMARKS", I.E., CONCRETE STEPS THAT WILL HELP CONVINCE THE GOR'S OWN PEOPLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S VERY IMPORTANT AND REASSURING WORDS WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS. HE ADDED THAT AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WAS NOT SUFFICIENT; WE NEEDED TO WORK TOGETHER TO SEE THAT THESE COMMITMENTS WERE UPHELD IN PRACTICE.

7. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FURTHER NOTED THAT, IN REVIEWING THE U.S. BENCHMARKS, BIZIMUNGU FAILED TO MENTION OUR REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENT INITIATE MEANINGFUL CONTACTS WITH HUTU LEADERS OUTSIDE RWANDA. HE POINTED OUT THAT REPATRIATION IS ONLY ONE-HALF OF THE EQUATION AND THAT RECONCILIATION MUST ALSO BE ACHIEVED. THE UNHCR REPORTS OF RPA REPRISALS CONCERNED US NOT ONLY FOR THE SIMPLE
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REASON THAT ALL KILLING IS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT RAISES QUESTIONS WHETHER A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION IS BEING PURSUED. HE ADDED THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO PUT AN END TO SUCH REPORTS; FIRST AND FOREMOST, ANY ACTIVITIES THAT GAVE RISE TO THE REPORTS MUST BE STOPPED.

U/S WIRTH COMMENDS RESPONSE TO UNHCR REPORTS, OUTLINES USG PRIORITIES; DAS BUSHNELL STRESSES POWER OF WORDS

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8. UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH COMMENDED THE GOR FOR THE WAY IT HAD ADDRESSED THE UNHCR REPORTS OF REPRISALS, AND HE WELCOMED THE RECENT STATEMENTS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME CONDEMNING ACTS OF REVENGE. THE UNDER SECRETARY OUTLINED USG PRIORITIES IN RWANDA, INCLUDING IMPROVING BORDER SECURITY, PURSUING INVESTIGATIONS AND PROSECUTIONS FOR THE ATROCITIES, EXPEDITING DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AND ASSISTING IN RESOLVING DIFFICULT PROPERTY RIGHTS ISSUES. HE THEN ASKED ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE EX-FAR. BIZIMUNGU SAID THEY CONTINUE TO HEAR REPORTS OF AN IMPENDING ATTACK AND THAT THE THREAT OF SUCH AN ATTACK

HAS BEEN USED TO DETER REFUGEES FROM REPATRIATING. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE GOR HAD BEEN TOLD THE EX-FAR HAD SHIFTED FROM GOMA TO BUKAVU.

9. DAS BUSHNELL EXPLAINED THAT OUR STRATEGY IS TO HELP RWANDA ACHIEVE PEACE. THIS WILL TAKE TREMENDOUS EFFORT, COURAGE, AND TOLERANCE. WE ARE WILLING TO ASSIST, BUT THE GOR NEEDS TO DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO SEE THAT REAL PEACE

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IS ACHIEVED. DAS BUSHNELL RECOGNIZED THAT THE GOR MAY LACK RESOURCES, BUT IT HAS CONTROL OVER ITS WORDS, WHICH CAN BE EXTREMELY POWERFUL. THEY CAN BE USED TO KILL, BUT THEY CAN ALSO BE USED TO DRAW PEOPLE BACK AND BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER. THE GOR NEEDS TO USE ITS WORDS TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION, AND MUST FOLLOW-UP THOSE WORDS WITH ACTIONS.

BIZIMUNGU'S TEMPERATURE RISES

10. AS THE DISCUSSION WORE ON, BIZIMUNGU SEEMED TO GROW IMPATIENT. ABANDONING HIS PRESIDENTIAL DEMEANOR, HE BECAME VISIBLY AGITATED AND LAUNCHED INTO A DIATRIBE OVER INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE LAST MARCH TO GRANT A SEAT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE HARDLINE CDR PARTY (FYI: UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORD, THE CDR AND OTHER MINOR PARTIES WERE ASSIGNED ONE SEAT EACH IN THE SEVENTY MEMBER MULTIPARTY PARLIAMENT). BIZIMUNGU SAID THE RPF HAD STRONGLY RESISTED THIS PRESSURE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THE CDR WAS DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE ALL TUTSIS. THE SUBSEQUENT GENOCIDAL MASSACRES PROVED THE RPF HAD BEEN RIGHT.

11. BIZIMUNGU COMPLAINED THAT THE SAME "MISCONCEPTIONS"

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ARE DRIVING THE PRESSURE ON THE GOR TO "ACCOMMODATE THE MRND." HE SAID THAT WHILE HIS U.S. INTERLOCUTORS MAY BE CALLING FOR WAR CRIMES TRIALS, UNIDENTIFIED "OTHERS" ARE ASKING THE GOR TO ACCOMMODATE THE KILLERS. IN STARK CONTRAST TO HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS ABOUT REACHING OUT TO MODERATE MRND MEMBERS, BIZIMUNGU SAID FLATLY: "WHO ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE INNOCENT MRND MEMBERS WHO ARE WILLING TO COME BACK TO KIGALI? I DON'T KNOW ANY." HE ADDED THAT HE FEARED THAT THE UNHCR'S REPORTS OF RPA REPRISALS ARE INTENDED TO EQUATE THE RPF'S ACTIONS WITH THOSE OF THE GENOCIDAL KILLERS.

KILLERS TO BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, NOT "ACCOMMODATED"

12. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE ARE URGING THE GOR TO ADOPT A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION; WE ARE NOT/NOT ASKING THE GOR TO ACCOMMODATE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE COMMITTED TO SEE THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS ARE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, BUT WE ARE ALSO URGING THE GOR NOT TO CONDEMN WHOLE GROUPS BASED ON THE ACTS OF INDIVIDUALS. DAS BUSHNELL ADDED THAT NO COUNTRY IS WORKING HARDER THAN THE U.S. ON THE EFFORT TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. IN CLOSING THE MEETING, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ASSURED BIZIMUNGU THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HELP RWANDA REACH LASTING PEACE IS UNCONDITIONAL; WE ARE OFFERING THE GOR OUR ADVICE TO HELP ASSURE THAT THE GOR ACHIEVES ITS OWN GOAL OF BEING A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, IN THE FACE OF TRULY DAUNTING ODDS.

23. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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